

## Message Text

SECRET

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45

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00 ACDE-00

SSO-00 /026 W

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P R 041440Z APR 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2531

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0123

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON APRIL 4 MEETING (SALT TWO-592)

1. AT TODAY'S MEETING SEMENOV AND I WENT AT MIRV VERIFICATION HOT AND HEAVY, BOTH IN PLENARY AND PRIVATE CONVERSATION. AS PLANNED (SALT TWO-586) I OPENED WITH STATEMENT THAT SOVIET SUGGESTION THAT WE "CAN OVER A PERIOD TIME" BECOME CONFIDENT ON MIRV VERIFICATION DID NOT PROVIDE US WITH THE ASSURANCE THAT WE REQUIRED THAT THE US CAN BE CONFIDENT BEFORE ENTERING INTO THE NEW AGREEMENT THAT IT WILL BE ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE THROUGHOUT ITS ENTIRE LIFE. I SAID THAT SOVIET REJECTION ON MARCH 27 OF US SOLUTIONS DID NOT ELIMINATE THE PROBLEMS WHICH WE HAD RAISED; THAT "REJECTION OF US SOLUTIONS WITHOUT SUGGESTING ALTERNATIVES FAILS TO MOVE OUR NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD; AND THAT "SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO THE SPECIFIC MIRV VERIFICATION PROBLEMS WHICH WE HAVE IDENTIFIED REMAINS ESSENTIAL TO THE NEW AGREEMENT." IN CLOSING I URGED "RENEWED CONSIDERATION OF THESE PROBLEMS" BY SOVIET SIDE.

2. SEMENOV RESPONDED AT THE TABLE THAT MY STATEMENT TODAY  
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"DID NOT SUFFICIENTLY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT" FACT THAT HIS MARCH

27 STATEMENT "WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS." I RESPONDED THAT, WHILE IT WAS NOT STATED IN MY FORMAL TEXT, I ASKED THAT IN TRANSMITTING TEXT OF MY TODAY'S STATEMENT TO MOSCOW THAT HE MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IT REPRESENTED THE CONSIDERED VIEWS OF THE USG AND I AGAIN URGED THAT "SOVIET AUTHORITIES RENEW CONSIDERATION OF THESE PROBLEMS."

3. IN PLEA, AS WELL AS IN OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION, HE IMPLIED THAT "CERTAIN PORTIONS OF MY STATEMENT TODAY WERE NOT ACCEPTABLE IN NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EQUAL PARTIES." IN RESPONSE I SAID THAT I HAD IN MY STATEMENT TODAY VERY DELIBERATELY USED TERMS "ESSENTIAL" AND "KEY" IN DESCRIBING OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THIS QUESTION AND THAT FOR ME TO WITHDRAW THEM COULD LEAD TO MISUNDERSTANDING OF OUR POSITION. HOWEVER, IF AFTER STUDYING TEXT OF MY STATEMENT TODAY THERE WERE ANY ELEMENTS THAT "GAVE OFFENSE" I WOULD BE GLAD TO HEAR WHAT HE HAD TO SAY. I SAID THAT FOR ONE SIDE TO SAY THAT BECAUSE IT HAD "ACTED UNDER INSTRUCTIONS" THAT MATTER WAS CLOSED WAS NOT WHAT HE CALLED BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND ASKED THAT HE SEEK INSTRUCTIONS WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE MAY-SHCHUKIN WORKING GROUP TO EXPLORE ALTERNATIVES. HE SAID THAT HE ENTIRELY AGREED THAT GROUP COULD AND SHOULD DISCUSS "VARIANTS" TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE SOVIET POSITION.

4. IN COURSE OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATION, HE SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT SOME WAY NEEDED TO BE FOUND TO SPEED UP PROGRESS IN THE WORKING GROUPS, AND I ACCEPTED HIS INVITATION TO MEET PRIVATELY WITH HIM AT WORKING LUNCH ON MONDAY, APRIL 7, TO DISCUSS "OUR FUTURE WORK PROGRAM."

5. IN HIS BILATERAL WITH MAY, SHCHUKIN SAID THAT, AT LEAST IN HIS OWN MIND, HE HAD ALWAYS CONSIDERED THAT "TESTING" WAS ENCOMPASSED WITHIN THE OBLIGATIONS "NOT TO CONCEAL" IN THE VERIFICATION ARTICLE. SHCHUKIN ALSO ASKED MAY WHETHER OR NOT IT WOULD HELP IN OUR VERIFICATION PROBLEM IF THEY WOULD AGREE TO DEPLOY MIRVED MISSILES "IN CERTAIN FIELDS" AND UNMIRVED IN "OTHER FIELDS." MAY REPLIED THAT WE WOULD CONSIDER SUCH A SUGGESTION WITH CONSIDERABLE INTEREST.

6. IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH ROWNY, TRUSOV TOOK INITIATIVE TO  
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DISCUSS THE DATE THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION WOULD BE EFFECTIVE, LARGELY REPEATING LINE OF ARGUMENT USED IN SOVIET STATEMENT OF APRIL 2 AND BY KARPOV TO KLOSSON AND EARLE. ROWNY, OF COURSE, REITERATED OUR POSITION.

7. AS INTERESTING FOOTNOTE, IN HIS BILATERAL CONVERSATION WITH TARPGAARD AND ATKINSON, SALTYKOV MADE FLAT STATEMENT THAT IN LISTING HEAVY BOMBERS TO BE LIMITED UNDER AGGREGATE FOR

EACH SIDE THERE WOULD BE TWO FOR THE US--THAT IS THE B-52  
AND THE B-1--AND THREE FOR THE SOVIETS. THE SOVIET LISTING WOULD  
INCLUDE THE TU-95, THE MYASISHCHEV, AND A SOVIET AIRCRAFT  
UNDER DEVELOPMENT WITH CHARACTERISTICS SIMILAR TO THE B-1."  
IN RESPONSE TO THEIR QUESTION, HE SPECIFICALLY SAID IT WAS  
NOT THE BACKFIRE, BUT A NEW AIRCRAFT AND HE WAS USING THE TERM  
"CHARACTERISTICS" AS MEANING "RANGE AND COMBAT CAPABILITIES."

8. AT TODAY'S PLENARY SEMENOV MADE ANODYNE STATEMENT ON  
ARTICLES XVII AND XIX OF SOVIET DRAFT.

9. NEXT MEETING SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY MORNING, APRIL 8,  
US MISSION. JOHNSON

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), SPEECHES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 04 APR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GarlanWA  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Office:** ACTION SS  
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**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
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**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GarlanWA  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12 JUN 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <12 JUN 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <17 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** COMMENTS ON APRIL 4 MEETING (SALT TWO-592)  
**TAGS:** PARM  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006